1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Following birth the baby is not fed for one day and is then put to the mother's breast. 846
The parturient usually remains in bed for four days to a week, and during this period her husband or grown daughters take over the household duties. In summer a mother may be seen carrying her infant through town within two weeks after delivery and by this time she has also resumed most of her customary duties (Plate 4, c).

Children born out of wedlock or conceived in adulterous sexual relations are regarded 848
as illegitimate. All illegitimacy is deplored, but the incidence of premarital motherhood appears to be quite low. The child of an unmarried mother may be cared for by the girl herself or entrusted to the care of grandparents. Once illegitimate children are grown, their status is not different from that of other persons and no evidence of discrimination against them could be observed.

The only two cases observed of extreme rejection of infants involved illegitimate chil- 848
dren. Irene Wiley gave birth to Irma a short time after she had been deserted by her hus- 854
band, who disapproved of her promiscuity. She did not want the infant, neglected its feeding and care, and often abandoned it in her mosquito tent for long periods while she went riding with soldiers. One cold night in August, 1944, Irene's father's brother's wife found the eight months old baby uncovered and so cold that it had to be washed with warm water. Although news of this incident reached the police, who publicly reprimanded the [626]
mother at a dance, Irene did not improve her care of the infant. Commenting on the child Louis Maza once observed: "That baby raise himself. Nobody take care of him. Mother don't care. Never change him . . . Some people tough. Me, I can't do that." River Joe, Irene's paternal uncle, said: "My heart sick I hear that baby cry. Sometime I take care of him." The extent of his care, so far as could be observed, consisted of occasionally feeding Irma sugar cookies. In 1945, when Irma was about two years old and retarded in her development, Irene began to manifest somewhat more attention toward the child.

A second instance of a young mother neglecting her newborn illegitimate infant oc- 848
curred after the native woman's husband had refused to permit her to keep the child. 851
Although the putative father, a married man, was easily identifiable, no effort was made to 854
induce this man to accept responsibility. Instead both parents left the baby in a tent at Lower Post while they went to visit friends two hundred miles up Dease River. The child was subsequently cared for by the mother's sister and later somewhat reluctantly adopted [547]
by its maternal grandmother. For her behavior the mother is reported to have been censured [626]
by the Indian Agent during his visit to Lower Post.

Children are usually named soon after birth, a Christian saint's name being decided 553
upon by the parents or suggested by the missionary if the baby is brought for baptism. Sometimes naming is neglected for several months after birth. If, during this time, a friend suggests an appropriate name it will be adopted by one or the other parent. Thus the ethnographer named Nitla's baby during the summer of 1945. In addition to a formal personal name, a family occasionally coins a nick-name for a child, but the range of such names is limited. Two common English nicknames are Boss and Piggy.

Children born in Lower Post are usually brought to the mission a few weeks after birth 851
for baptism. The ceremony is little emphasized by the parents and is often delayed until the matter is pressed upon their attention by the priest.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

clear at this point whether the informant meant to describe an ideal or manifest pattern. The murderer's escape from the area brought about an at least temporary halt in proceedings. Instead of seeking retaliation the family of the slain man might, through a kindly disposed headman, press for the adoption of the murderer in place of the victim. This may have occurred when the two were both young and of about the same age. The murderer's family always put pressure upon its member to accede to such a request. He then grew up as the son in the other family, and appropriate kinship terms defined his position (X). No punishment existed for attempted suicide. Cannibalism, a practice apparently regarded as habit-forming, earned banishment and, as a further consequence, death by starvation. People were dissuaded from sorcery by the logical argument that the deed would result in insanity. Interpersonal punishment for sorcery was not mentioned by informants. Similar magical retaliation followed incest, but public opinion dealt very harshly with those members of the community who committed incestuous offenses. Overwhelmed by shame and guilt in such circumstances, an unhappy man might tear off his penis or leap into the fire. Most grievous of all was incest between brother and sister.

A brother wanted his married sister but couldn't get her. He went one day to hunt beaver with the girl's husband. This man had a premonition that he was going to be attacked and the sister dreamed of her brother assaulting her husband. The brother succeeded in wounding his brother-in-law after which he returned to the dwelling with a beaver. The girl refused to eat the meat until her husband would return. When he didn't come back soon, she started out to look for him. She found him lying wounded at the beaver house. After treating his wounds she asked him to kill her brother, which he did.

An unwed mother felt ashamed when she brought forth a child. Sometimes, especially in summer, the community further punished the offense by forcing the girl into a month's exile, during which she subsisted mainly by clubbing porcupines. People intended the punishment to teach her sense and prevent repetition of such behavior. If they knew the baby's father, pressure might be placed on him to marry the mother. Such a marriage would not long endure, it was believed, because a girl who became impregnated outside of marriage was too wild to make a good wife. The lover might also give a small gift to the girl's father, thus acknowledging his offense. An illegitimate baby was fairly well treated if it survived the mother's banishment.[37] People recalled its status, however, and in later years a man might be taunted with the appelation xiina ("slave"). Such jeers rankled and sometimes led a man to fight his detractors.

An unfaithful wife and her paramour ideally shared in the condemnation of adultery. Generally, direct punishment fell on the woman alone. In the presence of an economy that forced men to leave their wives in camp while they hunted, plenty of opportunity for adultery existed. Chronic jealousy and suspicion haunted husbands. Returning to camp some men closely inspected the spruce brush in the dwelling. Should they find it "tipped over" or upset, evidence of the woman's unfaithfulness was presumed. Punishment for adultery consisted in beating the guilty wife or divorcing her, with resultant

[37] Among the Tlingit the killing of an illegitimate baby by stuffing its mouth with moss or grass had magical repercussions. If neglected "very bad luck will follow the family, or clan." Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 45.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River

from beating to killing. Injuries inflicted in quarrels demanded settlement by payment. To avoid blood vengeance in the event of murder the murder's family might accumulate many valuables, like skins, robes, and clothing, for presentation to the victim's kin. Even intertribal wars with the Tahltan could sometimes be avoided by offering valuables. A cannibal found himself banished from the community for as long as two years. Ostracism also greeted a couple guilty of incest, an offense covering sexual relations between members of a common moiety. Magical retribution further promised to hasten the death of such people.[45] A folk tale explains that men were likely to find their sisters sexually attractive because of an incident that had occurred very long ago. There once lived a man who left his two wives (they were sisters) and his children, killed his brother-in-law, and copulated with his widowed sister. The deserted wives killed the incestuous couple with the approval of the husband's brother, who said, "My brother did evil and acted like a dog."[46] An adulterous wife suffered a beating but a man had to be careful not to inflict serious injury or his behavior would constitute a crime punishable by the parents-in-law, who might demand an indemnity. A woman could divorce a philandering husband. The extent to which marital jealousy was developed is suggested in the tale of "The Deserted Woman."[47] A woman became suspected of infidelity because she offered her husband grease that she had found. The man, believing that the grease represented payment from a lover, burned his wife's clothing and tools and deserted her, expecting that she would die of cold and starvation. She managed to survive until two brothers discovered and married her. Subsequently she refused to return to her cruel husband. Illegitimacy disgraced both a mother and, later, the child.

Intergroup attitudes are reflected in the Nakani fear. The term designates a "bad Indian," who is given to lurking in the bush as he waits for an opportunity to steal girls. Victims of such an attack were never recovered but were taken to the abductor's tribe to become his wives. Dease River informants asserted as confidently as upper Liard River speakers that a Nakani represented a flesh and blood Indian rather than a supernatural being. The chronic insecurity marking intertribal relations sometimes exploded into war, resentment over encroachment of territories by foreigners being a common motive for fighting.[48] Many engagements were recalled between the Kaska and Tahltan. Ideally the fighting began when an enemy party raided a Kaska encampment, stealing women and killing the men. Inevitably relatives or friends discovered the crime and

[45] George Adsit reported that the Tahltan punished incest by death. On one occasion a guilty couple fled from their band and ascended a small salmon creek. Here, surrounded by an abundance of food, they raised two children before their people discovered them and killed the whole family.

[46] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 459–460.

[47] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 455–457.

[48] Morice speaks of feuds over hunting grounds dividing the Tahltan and Kaska. (Morice, *Nahane and Their Languages* [1900–1903], 520.) The entry of white trappers into the Cassiar also met with resentment. "The Casca Indians have the greatest objection to white men trapping on their own account in their country; gold dust they can take as much as they like, but the fur is the Indian's equivalent for gold and must be left for the Indian. They are very firm on this point—so much so that a couple of white men who were trapping on the Liard some years ago were killed by the Indians because they refused to let the fur alone." Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 112.